Surára
Pakidái

/68 cont./

835 Younger, unmarried brothers have the right to unite physically with the wives of their older brothers. Nevertheless the jealousy of the latter often prevents the realization, which, however, is made up for on a suitable occasion, for the women are altogether in favor of this custom (331).

331. This polyandrous feature is also found in the myth about the origin of human beings (see p. 247).

727 Among the Surára I found a pretty, delicate girl about
● 83 15 or 16 years old, Nikeromá, from the hostile tribe of the
159 Karauaterí (Ills. 17 and 18), who was held as a captive and was the common property of all the men, the unmarried as well as the married. When her maloka was raided, she fell into the hands of the Surára. She lived with the old widow Xututumí and her daughter Haikiamá, likewise widowed. During the day she occasionally took care of little children, deloused the wives of the chiefs, grated manioc or squeezed out the grated mass; she also strung beads or made a belt. When it grew dark, she always fetched wood for the night, just like the other female members of the tribe. She was the only woman who took a bath several times a day and played childish games with other small girls. Now and then she also went into the forest with other women to gather fruits. I never saw her inactive. When she works, however, she does so of her own free will. Yet at the same time she must always be ready for all the men, at any hour of the day or night. A man scarcely ever comes alone, but rather four, five, or more usually join him. They do not ask whether she has any desire for it, is sleeping, working, or is perhaps ill. One of them seizes her by the arm or the hair and sets out with her into /69/ the forest, and the others follow. Especially if the men have communal tasks to do in the forest, that is, felling trees for house construction, gathering palm leaves and lianas, Nikeromá is regularly taken along, whether or not she is willing. If she resists or raises objections, one of the men, with a big stick, will

/69 cont./

727 83 159 give her a blow on her tonsure, which is already full of scars, or he will scratch her body bloody with the sharp little cutia-tooth knife (see p. 117).

It is worth noting that the married men do not go furtively into the forest with Nikeromá, but quite openly. When I was wandering about with the tribe, I was often able to observe during the midday rest that a married man would suddenly go up to the little captive, take her by the arm, and go off with her a short distance, while five or six other men followed. The others present, men, women, and children, would laugh about it. The [593] wives, to be sure, were somewhat angry and would now and then throw a piece of wood after their husbands, but then they would make the best of it and likewise join in the laughter, though it was somewhat bittersweet. When the men returned with Nikeromá, after about an hour, we resumed our march. The women put up with this behavior of their spouses and, for their part, enjoy themselves with other men at a suitable opportunity. They never vent their wrath on the little captive, however. There is nothing defamatory about her actions, into which she is, of course, forced, for various wives were obliged to submit in the same way before their marriage. Little Nikeromá, however, found it hard to bear her fate; she was always grave and sad, in fact, almost melancholy, and suffered very much from homesickness. Yet one day, when other women and girls are captured from a hostile tribe, a Surára man will marry her.

It should be mentioned further that the Surára chief rigorously sees to it that Nikeromá is always supplied with plenty of meat and other food. He himself and his brothers treat the little captive very well, and I never saw them go into the forest with her.

The Pakidái had two captive Makuxí women.

727 83 171 In this connection I should like to refer to a very similar observation by Ehrenreich with regard to the Šambioa /Shambioa/ (Karajá /Caraja/), which the investigator describes as follows: "Moreover, unmarried men who wish to turn to the female sex may only have intercourse with the captive Kayapo /Cayapo/ women held in semislavery, a few of whom, at least among the Šambioa,

Surára
Pakidái

/69 cont./

727 are lodged in every village. They are regarded as common prop-
● 83 erty. Unfortunately, one also sees children used for similar pur-
171 poses. This clearly shows the dualism in the etiquette of the savages, whose moral laws apply only to members of their own tribe. This attitude, which is common to all primitive peoples, cannot, for this reason, alter our judgment concerning the morality of the Karaja in general" (332).

332. Ehrenreich, 1891, p. 28.

844 k) Death and burial customs
585 As the previous comments have shown, there are neither
764 birth nor marriage ceremonies among the Surára and Pakidái. The social and religious life is therefore dominated all the more by death practices.

764 If a human being who has completed the third year of life dies, the relatives are inconsolable. There is lamenting in the loudest tones, and the flood of tears among men, women, and children seems endless. Meanwhile, however, the customary occupations are not neglected. While the woman is fetching water from the river, for example, she weeps incessantly to herself and intermittently shrieks loudly; the same is true for the men at their work in the plantings and even for the children at their play. The other members of the tribe cast only an occasional compassionate glance at the mourners, and with this their interest is exhausted.

Immediately after a death it is the duty of the male relatives and /70/ friends to fell small trees in the forest, out of which they make a cylindrical wooden frame -- praotimá. This consists of 15 to 20 poles 1.60-1.80 meters long, which are tied with lianas a handbreadth apart. The corpse is slid into this, and liana ropes are drawn over the two open ends so that it is protected from the attack of birds, especially vultures.

knowing that they would not be raided in return; the Patanowä-tedi simply could not conduct the war on that immense a scale. The participation of these peripheral villages in the war against the Patanowä-tedi conferred three advantages on them. First, the probability was good that they would benefit materially in the raiding by capturing women. Secondly, they demonstrated their solidarity to their allies at little cost or danger to themselves, thereby putting these allies under obligation to reciprocate the favor at a later time. Finally, the peripheral villages were able to demonstrate their ferocity to their neighbors by going to war, although the danger to themselves was almost negligible. In total, about a dozen villages began raiding the Patanowä-tedi in mid 1965, forcing them to abandon their garden before they could establish a new one elsewhere. The Patanowä-tedi had no alternative but to take refuge in the village of their allies, the Ashadowä-tedi. Without the aid of the Ashadowä-tedi, the Patanowä-tedi would have been forced to colonize from their single site and sustain very heavy losses from the incessant raids of their enemies. As the situation turned out, the Patanowä-tedi lost a large number of people in the raiding, despite having this ally, but the losses would have been much heavier without them.

Summary

The practice of female infanticide leads to a shortage of women. The Yanomamö attempt to overcome the shortage,

sexually, by the practices of sodomy, wife sharing, incest, and permitted affairs. However, two ways in which the problem is resolved--clandestine affairs within villages and raiding to abduct women between villages--create political situations that favor the development of political alliances for the purposes of defense. Since these involve the transfer of women between the allies, the practice of female infanticide constitutes a functional component in the marriage alliance system.

The process of village splitting, growing out of feuds over women, results in the establishment of small, militarily vulnerable villages. The timing of the split is conditioned by the agricultural requirements of the village on the one hand, and the nature of its politico-military relationships with other villages on the other. The graded system of violence permits flexibility in the settlement pattern and the precise conditions of a village split. Because the Yąnomamö rely heavily on cultivated foods, alliances may be interpreted as an attempt to maximize the chances of survival of groups of kinsmen as independent groups; the possibility always exists that a given group may be forced by its enemies to seek protection and provisions in the village of an ally.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

men built his own section of the village, but in such a way that the roofs coincided and could be attached by simply extending the thatching. When completed, the village looked like a continuous, oval-shaped lean-to because of the way in which the roofs of the discrete houses were attached. Each house, however, is owned by the family that built it. Shararaiwä, Kąobawä's youngest brother, helped build Kąobawä's house and shares it with him. He also shares Koamashima, Kąobawä's younger wife. Kąobawä's older wife, Bahimi, hangs her hammock adjacent to Kąobawä's most of the time, but when there are visitors and the village is crowded, she ties her hammock under his in order to be able to tend the fire during the night. Ariwari still sleeps with his mother, but will get his own hammock soon: He is nearly four years old. His parents are afraid he will fall into the fire at night and get burned, since he is still a little too young to sleep alone.[21]

Daily activities begin early in a Yąnomamö village. One can hear people chatting lazily and children crying long before it is light enough to see. Most people are waked by the cold and build up the fire just before daybreak. They usually go back to sleep, but many of them visit and talk about their plans for the day.

The entrances are all covered with dry brush so that any movement of people through them is heard all over the village. There is always a procession of people leaving the village at dawn to relieve themselves in the nearby garden, and the noise they make going in and out of the village usually awakens the others.

The village is very smoky at this time of day, since the newly stoked campfires smoulder before they leap into flames. The air is usually very still and chilly, and the ground is damp from the dew. The smoke is pleasant and seems to drive away the coolness.

Clandestine sexual liasons usually take place at this time of day, having been arranged on the previous evening. The lovers leave the village on the pretext of going to the bathroom and meet at some predetermined location. They return to the village by opposite routes.

This is also the time of day when raiders strike, so people must be cautious when they leave the village at dawn. If there is some reason to suspect raiders, they do not leave the confines of the upright log palisade that surrounds the village. They wait instead until full light and leave the village in armed groups.

By the time it is light enough to see, everybody has started preparing breakfast. This consists largely of roasted green plantains, easily prepared and steaming hot. If the family has any meat, it is taken down and shared, the children getting the best portions. Leftover meat is hung over the fire by a vine to keep the vermin off it and to preserve it.

If any of the men have made plans to hunt that day, they leave the village before it is light. Wild turkeys can be easily taken at this time of day because they roost in conspicuous places. During the dry season the *hashimo* (a kind of grouse) sing before dark and can be readily located. If any were heard the night before, the men leave at dawn to stalk them.

Tobacco chewing starts as soon as people begin stirring. Those who have fresh

[21] A child fell into a fire and burned to death in 1966—the mother had placed her hammock too close to the fire in order to keep warm, and the baby slipped from her arms while she slept. Bahimi's mother also sleeps in Kąobawä's house, but he does not have to avoid her because she is an old woman.